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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

593 Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
836 who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
577 couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
583 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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aunt, uncle, niece, and nephew are directly translatable into the English words, except that the linguistic forms vary for males and females, and that, in fact, the villagers refer to distinctions between first and second cousins more frequently than Americans do.[4] Like ours, the system is characterized by the distinctness of elementary family terms, the separation of generations, and the equal consideration of both father's and mother's line of descent in the terms for all consanguineal (blood) relatives. So far the Greek terms are also entirely congruent with the actual functioning distinctiveness of the elementary family and the existing bilateral descent in the country. There is special interest for us, however, in the Greek terms for affinal relatives (that is, relatives by marriage) which, in some instances, differ from those in English and are, in turn, congruent with the particular significance of marriage in Greek social structure.

Petheros (masculine) and *pethera* (feminine) are equivalent to English father-in-law and mother-in-law, but there is an additional, reciprocal Greek term which two sets of in-laws use in referring to each other: *simpetheros* and *simpethera*. In English these must be rendered as "my son's or daughter's father- or mother-in-law." The Greek terms, then, group together the parents of a husband and wife with a term of reference roughly translatable as "co-in-laws." The Greek word for son-in-law, *ghambros*, is also used to mean groom, and that for daughter-in-law, *nifi*, is also used for bride. Moreover, all the members of a man's elementary family, not only his parents, but also his brothers and sisters, all refer to his wife as their *nifi*, and all the members of a woman's elementary family refer to her husband as their *ghambros*. The terms *nifi* and *ghambros*, then, are not equivalent to any English kin terms, but must be translated as "that man or woman who has married a member of my elementary family." At least two generations, that of parents and their children, use the same terms to refer to people normally in the younger generation. In other words, the generational distinctiveness characteristic of terms for blood relatives is replaced by the status designation for a person who has married into an elementary family. This disregard of generation is not reciprocated, however, by the spouses of one's children or by one's brothers and sisters. As we have seen, mother and father of one's spouse are called *petharos* and *pethera;* now we can add that brothers and sister of one's spouse are referred to as *kunyadhos* and *kunyadha*, that is brother- and sister-in-law.

The status category of marriage into a particular elementary family appears again, however, in the existence of distinct terms by which men who have married two sisters refer to each other, *badzanakidhes*, and by which women who have married two brothers refer to each other, *sinifadhes*. Men who have married sisters and women who have married brothers have to deal with the same sets of in-laws and this constitutes a common bond which is signalized by the terms just given. Another way of saying this is that those women who are referred to as *nifi* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *sinifadha*, and those men who are referred to as *ghambros* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *badzanakis*.

[4] See Andromedas (1957) for a complete list of modern Greek kinship terms.

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, ***kumbaros*** and ***kumbara***, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] [582] [612] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowledge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my relatives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	prósyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thíos, thía (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman insisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father.

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára.

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ftsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *oîoi*, "natives of"),

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 551 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavalêi, Andromidhêi, Kolokotronêi, Petimezêi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

177 601 Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-ḗ* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phrā́ter* and **ésor* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology." [113]

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